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ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS
AND
SECOND INAUGURAL

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THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON
From the drawing of the Architect, Henry Bacon

LINCOLN'S
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS
AND
SECOND INAUGURAL

TEXTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS
COMPILED BY
CHARLES MOORE

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

November 19, 1863

LINCOLN

Monument in Lincoln Park, Chicago; Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Sculptor; Stanford White, Architect. Photograph by Albert Gardner Robinson

EMANCIPATION
Mural decoration in the Lincoln Memorial. Jules Guérin, painter.

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

November 19, 1863

CONFEDERATE successes at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville raised to the highest pitch the confidence of Southern soldiers, statesmen and people. At the North there was depression, confusion, and doubt of ultimate success. General had succeeded general in command of the Army of the Potomac. In the West, Grant was confronted by baffling conditions that foiled all attempts to open the Mississippi. When Lee turned his army to the north and poured the stream of his soldiers like a flood down the valley of the Shenandoah, he was conscious of the unwavering support of every element in the Richmond Government, and was animated by the ardent hopes of a united South. At Washington there was uncertainty, indeed, but no lack of determination. Nor was Hooker wanting in generalship as he kept pace with his enemy, meanwhile covering the national capital; but Hooker, for personal reasons even now hard to understand, asked to be relieved of the command, and on the eve of battle George Gordon Meade succeeded him.[1]

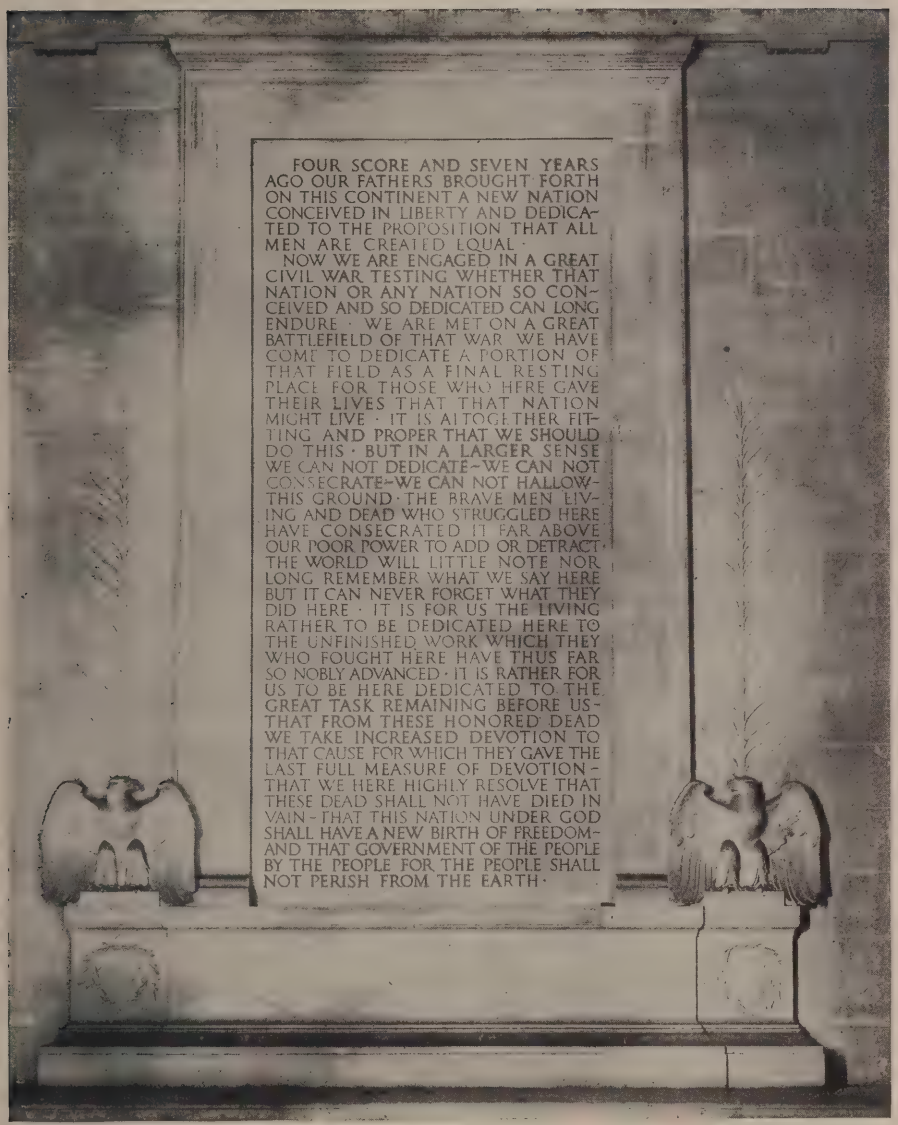
Lee was within striking distance of Harrisburg when he turned to meet his opponent. Meade, knowing that the fight must come, had

[1] The battle of Fredericksburg was fought December 13th, 1862; Chancellorsville, on May 2d and 3d, 1863; Gettysburg, on July 1st, 2d, 3d, 1863.

picked a field less advanced, and was preparing to withstand an attack when the clash between the two armies came at Gettysburg. On July 1st and 2d the battle was waged with varying success, but with advantage to Lee. On the third day Pickett's charge — magnificent, spectacular, powerful — was repelled with appalling losses to both sides. Victory was with Meade. The invasion was stopped.

During those three days the anxiety in Washington was intense. The news of victory reached the capital at ten o'clock on Independence Day and quickly spread through the city. The excitement and joy were without bounds.

Among the wounded was General Daniel E. Sickles, who was taken to Washington. To him, despairing of life, came President Lincoln, with words of hope and comfort: 'It was on the fifth day of July, 1863,' said General Sickles, 'that I was brought to Washington on a stretcher from the field of Gettysburg. Hearing of my arrival, President Lincoln came to my room and sat down at my bedside. He asked about the great battle, and when I told him of the terrible slaughter the tears streamed from his eyes. I asked him if he had doubted the result. "No," he said. Then he continued, "This may seem strange to you; but a few days ago, when the opposing armies were converging, I felt as never before my utter helplessness in the great crisis that had come upon the country. I went into my own room and locked the door. I knelt down and prayed as I had never prayed before. I told God that He had called me to this position; that I had done all I could do; that now the result was in His hands; that I felt my own weakness and lack of power, and that I knew that if the country was to be saved it was because He so willed it. When


FOUR SCORE AND SEVEN YEARS AGO OUR FATHERS BROUGHT FORTH ON THIS CONTINENT A NEW NATION CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY AND DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL ·
NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT CIVIL WAR TESTING WHETHER THAT NATION OR ANY NATION SO CONCEIVED AND SO DEDICATED CAN LONG ENDURE · WE ARE MET ON A GREAT BATTLEFIELD OF THAT WAR WE HAVE COME TO DEDICATE A PORTION OF THAT FIELD AS A FINAL RESTING PLACE FOR THOSE WHO HERE GAVE THEIR LIVES THAT THAT NATION MIGHT LIVE · IT IS ALTOGETHER FITTING AND PROPER THAT WE SHOULD DO THIS · BUT IN A LARGER SENSE WE CAN NOT DEDICATE-WE CAN NOT CONSECRATE-WE CAN NOT HALLOW-THIS GROUND · THE BRAVE MEN LIVING AND DEAD WHO STRUGGLED HERE HAVE CONSECRATED IT FAR ABOVE OUR POOR POWER TO ADD OR DETRACT · THE WORLD WILL LITTLE NOTE NOR LONG REMEMBER WHAT WE SAY HERE BUT IT CAN NEVER FORGET WHAT THEY DID HERE · IT IS FOR US THE LIVING RATHER TO BE DEDICATED HERE TO THE UNFINISHED WORK WHICH THEY WHO FOUGHT HERE HAVE THUS FAR SO NOBLY ADVANCED · IT IS RATHER FOR US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO THE GREAT TASK REMAINING BEFORE US-THAT FROM THESE HONORED DEAD WE TAKE INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION-THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN-THAT THIS NATION UNDER GOD SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM-AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH ·

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Tablet in the Lincoln Memorial. Henry Bacon, Architect
Evelyn Beatrice Longman, Sculptor

I went out of my room, I felt no doubt of the issue. The burden seemed rolled from my shoulders. My intense anxiety was relieved, and in its place came a great sense of trustfulness. That was why I did not doubt the result at Gettysburg."

'Then, turning to me, he continued, "And what is more, Sickles, I believe we may hear at any moment of a great success by Grant, who has been pegging away at Vicksburg for so many months. By to-morrow you will hear that he has won a victory in the West as important to us as Gettysburg is in the East.[1] And, Sickles — I am in a prophetic mood to-night — I know you will get well!" "The doctors do not give me that hope, Mr. President," I said. "But I know you will get well, Sickles," he answered, cheerfully. And I did.'[2]

Had Lee been followed promptly, the President felt, the war might have been brought to a speedy end; but there was still more than a year of conflict, doubt and uncertainty. The effect of Lee's failure on the South is shown by a passage from the diary of General Josiah Gorgas, the Chief of Ordnance of the Confederate Army:

> 1863. *July* 28. Events have succeeded one another with disastrous rapidity. One brief month ago we were apparently at the point of success. General Lee was in Pennsylvania, threatening Harrisburg, and even Philadelphia. Vicksburg seemed to laugh all Grant's efforts to scorn, and the Northern papers had reports of his raising the siege. Port Hudson had beaten off Banks's forces, and 'the question' said a Northern correspondent, was only now, could he save the remnant of his army. Taylor had driven the enemy from the greater part of

[1] The news of the surrender of Vicksburg reached Washington on July 7th, about two o'clock in the afternoon; and it was rumored that Port Hudson also had fallen. The rumor was made fact ten days later, and, in the words of Lincoln, 'The Father of Waters goes again unvexed to the sea.' (*B. B. French's Diary*, privately printed.)

[2] Report of a Loyal Legion dinner in Washington, printed in the *New York Sun*, February 14, 1895.

LITTLE ROUND TOP AND THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD
Photograph by the United States Army Air Service, 1924

> Louisiana, and had captured stores at Brashear. Winchester, with twenty-eight pieces of artillery and four thousand prisoners, had fallen into our hands. All looked bright.
>
> Now the picture is just as sombre as it was bright then. Lee failed at Gettysburg, and has recrossed the Potomac and resumed the position of two months ago, covering Richmond. Alas! He has lost fifteen thousand men and forty-five thousand arms. It seems incredible that human power could effect such a change in so brief a space. Yesterday we rode on the pinnacle of success; to-day absolute ruin seems to be our portion. The Confederacy totters to its destruction.[1]

The historic significance of Gettysburg as the crucial battle of the Civil War began to permeate the North as Grant's successes in the West drew ever-narrowing lines of military operations. It might not be possible, many thought, to defeat the Confederates on their own territory; but fear of the conquest of the Northern States was at an end.

Mr. David Wills, of Gettysburg, was the first to suggest that the seventeen other States [2] whose troops had fought that good fight unite with Pennsylvania to create there on the battle-field a national cemetery. Governor Curtin adopted the idea, and so it came about that seventeen acres were purchased and a cemetery was laid out.[3]

[1] Gorgas manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

[2] At the time of the dedication the States and the number of soldiers from each buried in the cemetery were: Maine, 17; New Hampshire, 4; Vermont, 19; Rhode Island, 4; Massachusetts, 139; Connecticut, 12; New York, 158; New Jersey, 22; Pennsylvania, 100; Delaware, 14; Maryland, 15; Ohio, 24; Indiana, 31; Illinois, 3; Michigan, 48; Wisconsin, 21; Minnesota, 24; Virginia, 2. Then there were 19 members of the United States Regular Infantry, and 582 graves of unknown soldiers — a total of 1258 interments. There were also many Confederate graves scattered over the field. (*New York Tribune*, November 21, 1863.)

[3] The cost of the land was $3150. Each of the States interested purchased a portion of the land and agreed to assume future expenses. William Saunders designed the cemetery. In 1891 Mr. Saunders did the planting which is an element in the great distinction of the Adams Memorial,

THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY CEMETERY
(Photograph by the United States Army Air Service)

So expeditiously was the work done that by October the sacred spot was ready for dedication.

For orator, Edward Everett was the unanimous choice of the eighteen Governors who shared the cemetery at Gettysburg. Born five years before Washington died, he was an ordained minister before he was nineteen, and at the age of twenty-four he preached in the House of Representatives a sermon so powerful that Mr. Justice Story talked of it for twenty years. He gave the welcome to Lafay-

designed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington. (Saint-Gaudens manuscripts in the Library of Congress.)

ette in 1824, served ten years in Congress, four years as Governor of Massachusetts, four years as Minister to England, and three years as President of Harvard University. He succeeded his friend, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, and afterwards served a year in the United States Senate. His eloquence, freely given, raised seventy thousand of the two hundred thousand dollars, the purchase price of Mount Vernon. In 1860 he was the candidate for Vice-President on the Conservative ticket with John Bell. When war came he was a steadfast and powerful supporter of the Union and of President Lincoln, thereby parting company with many of his lifelong Boston friends, but never losing touch with the mass of his fellow citizens of Massachusetts.

In order to accommodate Mr. Everett's engagements, the date of the dedication was postponed until November 19th. He arrived in Gettysburg two days before the ceremonies, in order to go over the battle-field. Evidences abounded of the desperate fighting only four months in the past. Gettysburg, the county seat of Adams County, had a population of thirty-five hundred people, most of whom were employed in ten carriage factories. With the aid of the farmers in the surrounding country, they supported seven churches and four newspapers, a bank, an academy, and a college. The town itself had recovered from the sudden shock of battle; but broken trees and house-sides torn by shot and shell were constant reminders of the fray. A mile from the Diamond (the town's civic center), on the Chambersburg Road, General Lee's headquarters had been reoccupied by their owner, who boasted that she had refused to prepare meals for the invaders of her home and her country, a refusal seconded by the

Eagle Hotel. A quarter of a mile farther down the road, and off in a field, stood the remains of the grove and the rifle pits where the battle was begun by General Reynolds, who with eight thousand men held the enemy in check from nine in the morning until half after three in the afternoon, thus giving time for the concentration of the Union forces at Gettysburg. He himself was the first of the commanders to be killed in the battle.

Two miles out on the Emmetsburg Road, by which the Federal forces approached, was the peach orchard where General Sickles was forced to give way until General Sykes came up with the Fifth Corps to withstand the Confederate attempt to break the Union left and flank the line. For miles around the ground was still strewn with knapsacks, canteens, cups, cartridge-boxes, bayonets, and remnants of clothing. Half a mile from the peach orchard was the base of Little Round Top, that precipitous old rock rising sheer from the plain, where the fight was thickest.

From Round Top, at the left, flew the flag then recently presented by The Ladies of Valley Forge. From Little Round Top the whole battle-field spreads out — Cemetery Hill, the Union center; Culp's Hill to the south; and to the southeast Wolf's Hill, the right of the line.

A bit of human interest at the foot of the mountain was the persimmon tree, the leaves of which had concealed a Confederate sharpshooter, who tried for Union officers, and, when the wind preserved them from his bullets, turned his fire on the artillery horses, killing fifty-six before a ball from a telescopic rifle cut short his career. They buried him at the foot of the tree.

Mr. Wills, writing to President Lincoln of the proposed ceremonies, asked 'that after the oration you, as Chief Executive of the Nation, formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use, by a few appropriate remarks.' The day fixed for the dedication was then two weeks in the future. President Lincoln was busy with his annual message to Congress and with the multifarious details of his official duties, civil and military. Nevertheless, he set about composing his address and in the Executive Mansion wrote the first draft of his 'few appropriate remarks.'

On November 12th, Colonel Ward H. Lamon, United States Marshal of the District of Columbia, who was to act as marshal-in-chief of the ceremonies, made a preliminary visit to Gettysburg to complete arrangements for the parade and for the President's comfort. He was accompanied by Benjamin B. French, Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and *ex-officio* major-domo of the Executive Mansion. The journey from Washington to Gettysburg consumed the time from half after six in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon, and even then a special train was required to overcome the usual missed connection at Hanover Junction.

To Mr. French Mr. Wills confided his troubles. Among them was his failure to obtain from Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, or Boker an original ode to be sung on the occasion. Into this breach Mr. French was thrown, and before he left town the next morning he handed to Mr. Wills the result of his night's work.[1]

Possibly it was the railroad experience of his aides that led Mr. Lincoln to veto Secretary Stanton's time-table for a one-day round

[1] B. B. French was an uncle of Daniel Chester French, the sculptor of the statue in the Lincoln Memorial.

trip to Gettysburg, as prepared by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

> I do not like this arrangement [was Mr. Lincoln's endorsement]. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely; and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But any way.

As a result of this criticism the President's special train of four passenger coaches left the Baltimore and Ohio station in Washington at noon on Wednesday, the 18th. Mr. Lincoln had expected Secretary Chase and perhaps all the other members of the Cabinet to accompany him; but William H. Seward, the Secretary of State; John P. Usher, the Secretary of the Interior; and Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster-General, were the only Cabinet officers in the party. The French Minister, M. Mercier; the Italian Minister, M. Bertinatti; Captain H. A. Wise, U.S.N., and Mrs. Wise, a daughter of Edward Everett; John G. Nicolay, and John Hay made up the President's party. There were also newspaper correspondents and a military guard of honor. At Baltimore there were numerous accessions.

A picturesque tradition has grown up that on the way to Gettysburg, while others were visiting and discussing the events of the day, President Lincoln sat by himself, composing and writing, as variously told, on the back of an envelope or on a sheet of brown paper borrowed from Mr. Seward, the Gettysburg Address. Mr. Nicolay states that 'there is neither record, evidence, nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing, or made any notes, on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg.' The incessant

conversation and the rocking and jolting of the train, the greetings of new arrivals and the courtesy due them, precluded writing or even consecutive thought. General Fry is equally explicit to the same effect. The legend was firmly believed by the narrators, who have been definite, although quite diverse, in their reminiscences. The contemporary documentary evidence is conclusive against them.[1]

The Presidential train arrived at Gettysburg about six o'clock in the evening; and, as arranged, President Lincoln went to the house of Mr. Wills, where he could have more quiet than the hotel afforded. Mr. Everett also was staying in the house. The little town was full of enthusiastic, excited people, many of whom could find no places to sleep and who did not much care to sleep. Then there were hundreds who started for Gettysburg, but, such was the crowd and the train service, did not reach the town until the exercises were over.

In the evening the President spent an hour at the house of Robert

[1] A most significant case in point came into the experience of the writer. In 1921 I sent to that careful student of history, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, reproductions of the first and second drafts of the Gettysburg Address. He thought it curious that there should be such doubt about the actual originals; for, he said, when Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated, on March 4, 1905, he, as a member of the Senate Committee, was at the White House before the President started for the Capitol. There he saw John Hay give to President Roosevelt what the Senator understood, and what he certainly was told, was the original rough draft of the Gettysburg Address. He remembered that the President showed it to him with great delight. He accounted for the fact that it was not among the Roosevelt papers by saying that he felt certain Mrs. Roosevelt would keep it among her personal possessions. The copy he saw, as he recalled, was on slips of small note-paper size, written, he would say, in pencil. Could testimony be more explicit or circumstantial? Mrs. Roosevelt, on being appealed to, replied: 'Senator Lodge has a memory that I seem to lack. Mr. Hay gave my husband a ring set with Lincoln's hair, which is tucked away in my safe, and of which we often spoke. Of the Gettysburg Address manuscript I have not the slightest recollection.' Senator Lodge, his memory being thus refreshed, said: 'Of course I remember the ring perfectly, but I must be wrong about the Gettysburg Address, and that must be connected with something else, because Mrs. Roosevelt would be sure to be right about it, as she is about the ring.' Is it possible to find a more convincing case of the fallibility of memory — even of a memory given to exactness?

Goodloe Harper, who lived next to Mr. Wills and who was entertaining Mr. Seward, the Italian Minister, and others. Mr. French came from a meeting of the marshals at the Court-House, where a contribution of one hundred and sixty dollars was raised to purchase food for Union soldiers in Libby Prison at Richmond. Mr. Seward said that the Confederate Government would not allow the money to be given to the prisoners. 'They will if it comes from individuals,' replied Mr. French. Thereupon Mr. Seward gave ten dollars, saying: 'Put that down from *Marshal* Seward, *an individual.*' [1]

Outside, the enthusiastic crowd demanded speeches. The tired but good-natured President responded briefly:

> I appear before you, fellow citizens, merely to thank you for this compliment. The inference is a very fair one that you would hear me for a little while at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. The most substantial of these is that I have no speech to make. In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things. [A voice: If you can help it.] It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg of you to excuse me from addressing you further.[2]

Mr. Seward spoke more at length. He was glad, he said, that now for the first time, after long years of service, he had found a hearing so near the Maryland line. Forty years before he saw that slavery was opening a graveyard that was to be filled with brothers falling in mutual political combat. When that cause should be removed, thenceforth the Nation would be united and there would be only

[1] *B. B. French's Diary.*
[2] John G. Nicolay: *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, Century Magazine*, February, 1894.

one country, having one hope, one ambition, one destiny.[1] Among the other speakers were Representatives McPherson and McKnight, Judge Shannon, Colonel John W. Forney, and Wayne MacVeagh.[2] When orators gave out, the crowd sang all of 'We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,' [3] and kept up the shouting until two o'clock in the morning.

The morning of the 19th brought bright skies. Nature had donned her best attire. After breakfast the President retired, about nine o'clock, to his chamber on the upper floor of Mr. Wills's house, and there finished the writing of his Address. Mr. Nicolay was with him. The manuscript he had brought from Washington in his pocket he proceeded to revise in Mr. Nicolay's presence. The first page he retained as originally written in ink in the Executive Mansion, all but the last three words of the last line. These he struck out, and above them wrote others in pencil; and on another sheet of paper, such as he habitually used, he wrote ten other lines, also in pencil. The two parts of the amended sentence do not agree.

Mr. Nicolay did not notice that Mr. Lincoln made a fair copy at the time, correcting the fracture in the last line of the first page of the first draft of the Address; but, inasmuch as the fair copy, or second draft, does not contain the words 'under God,' which Mr. Lincoln used on the platform, as is shown in the stenographic reports, it is a reasonable inference that before leaving Mr. Wills's house Mr. Lincoln did make such a copy, and that the second draft is such copy. The use on the platform of the words 'under God'

[1] *New York Tribune*, November 21, 1863.
[2] John G. Nicolay, in *Century*.
[3] *B. B. French's Diary*.

would seem to have been impulse — or inspiration. They undoubtedly expressed his deepest feelings.

At ten o'clock the procession started: first the troops, two thousand in number, under the command of Major-General Couch, followed by Marshal-in-Chief Lamon and his hundred aides. Then came President Lincoln on horseback. He was dressed in black, with white gauntlets. The people pressed forward to shake hands and were with difficulty persuaded to allow the procession to move. Secretaries Seward and Usher and Postmaster-General Blair also were mounted. Governors, Cabinet officers, Senators, Representatives, and officials were followed by benevolent and civic organizations and citizens. In the desire to reach the grounds those at the rear of the procession took short cuts and left the line to peter out.

The line of march was up Baltimore Street and the Emmetsburg Road to the Tawneytown Road and thence to the Cemetery, where the military formed to salute the President, and then took place on the left. Civilians held the center, with ladies on the right. On the crowded platform sat the Presidential party, Governors Curtin of Pennsylvania, Seymour of New York, Brough of Ohio, Coburn of Maine, Morton of Indiana, Bradford of Maryland, Parker of New Jersey; former Governors Tod and Dennison of Ohio, Wright of Indiana, and Pierpont of West Virginia; Adjutant-General Russell of Pennsylvania; Senator Simon Cameron; the Honorable J. W. Forney, Secretary of the Senate; Major-Generals Schenck, Stahel, Doubleday, Stoneman, Couch; Brigadier-General Gibbon and Provost-Marshal General Fry; and perhaps two hundred other persons. When the dignitaries were seated, the Honorable Edward Everett,

escorted by a committee of Governors, was presented to the President. The programme opened with a dirge by Birgfeld's Band, followed by a long prayer by the Reverend Thomas H. Stockton, Chaplain of the United States Senate. After the band had played 'Old Hundred,' Mr. Everett arose and, without notes of any kind, spoke for two hours.

Mr. Everett began by adverting to the law of Athens, whereby the obsequies of the citizens who fell in battle should be performed at public expense and in the most honorable manner. Their place of burial was adorned with walks and fountains and columns — groves filled with altars, shrines, and temples — gardens kept forever green by streams from neighboring hills — pathways gleaming with monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble.

Mr. Everett reviewed the steps leading to civil war. He told the story of General Lee's advance into Pennsylvania, and he recounted incidents of the three days' fight. He was speaking to men and women whose lives and fortunes had depended on the outcome of that struggle, to soldiers who themselves had taken part in the combat, and to the assembled multitude, whose future depended on the final but then uncertain end of civil strife. It is no wonder that the words of the great orator at times moved his auditors to tears, and that for two hours they stood in steadfast attention as he expressed the deepest sentiments of their hearts.

Having conquered their emotions, the orator made appeal to their reason with argument and analogy drawn from history. President Lincoln, versed as he was in the annals of a controversy which he

himself had so largely shaped, found new arguments in Mr. Everett's address.

'No man,' said the orator, 'can deplore more than I do the miseries of every kind incident to war. Who could stand on this spot and call to mind the scenes of the first day of July with any other feeling? A sad foreboding of what would ensue if war should break out between North and South has haunted me through life, and led me perhaps too long to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were predetermined not to be conciliated.' He contrasted conditions in America with the passions that for decades delayed the healing of the wounds caused by European wars — in England, in France, in Germany. 'There is no bitterness among the masses. The people of the South are not going to wage an eternal war for the wretched pretexts by which this rebellion is sought to be justified. The bonds that unite us as one People — a substantial community of origin, language, belief, and law (the four great ties that hold men together); common national and political interests; a common history; a common pride in glorious ancestry; a common interest in this great heritage of blessings; the very geographical features of the country; the mighty rivers that cross the lines of climate and thus facilitate the interchange of natural and industrial products, while the wonder-working arm of the engineer has leveled the mountain walls that separate the East and West, compelling your own Alleghanies, my Maryland and Pennsylvania friends, to open their everlasting doors to the chariot-wheels of traffic and travel — these bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary,

factitious, and transient. The heart of the People North and South is for the Union. Indications too plain to be mistaken announce the fact. . . . The weary masses of the people are yearning to see the dear old flag again floating over their capitols, and they sigh for a return of the peace, prosperity, and happiness which they enjoyed under a government whose power was felt only in its blessings.' [1]

At the conclusion of Mr. Everett's oration a Baltimore musical association sang the Consecration Hymn composed by Mr. French:

'Tis holy ground —
This spot where in their graves
We place our Country's braves,
Who fell in Freedom's holy cause,
Fighting for Liberty and Laws —
Let tears abound.

Here let them rest —
And Summer's heat and Winter's cold
Shall glow and freeze above this mold —
A thousand years shall pass away,
A Nation still shall mourn this clay,
Which now is blest.

Here, where they fell,
Oft shall the widow's tear be shed,
Oft shall fond parents mourn their dead,
The orphans here shall kneel and weep;
And maidens, where their lovers sleep,
Their woes shall tell.

Great God in Heaven!
Shall all this sacred blood be shed,

[1] Paul Revere Frothingham, in his *Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman*, is inclined to claim for Mr. Everett an advanced position in regard to peace and reunion. Mr. Seward expressed the same ideas the night before Mr. Everett's oration, and they were never out of President Lincoln's mind and calculations.

Shall we thus mourn our glorious dead,
Oh! shall the end be wrath and woe,
The knell of Freedom's overthrow —
A country riven?

It will not be!
We trust, oh, God! Thy gracious power
To aid us in our darkest hour.
This be our prayer: 'Oh, Father! save
A people's Freedom from its grave —
All praise to thee!'

Marshal Lamon introduced the President of the United States. Though Mr. Lincoln held a paper in his hand while speaking, Mr. Nicolay testifies that he did not refer to his notes. The changes from the first two drafts to the telegraphic reports Mr. Nicolay thinks 'may have been prompted by the oratorical impulse of the moment; but it is more likely that in the interval of four hours occupied by coming to the grounds and the delivery of Mr. Everett's oration he fashioned the phrases anew in his silent thought and had them ready to use when he rose to speak.'

Another erroneous tradition has grown up in regard to the degree of recognition with which President Lincoln's address was received. Persons present have stated from memory that there was no applause. The stenographic reports sent from Gettysburg to the newspapers show frequent applause; whereas the fact that advance copies of Mr. Everett's oration were sent to the press precluded such indications of favor. Further contemporaneous testimony is at hand.

It was 'in a firm, free way,' wrote the exuberant John Hay, 'with

more grace than is his wont,' that he 'said his half-dozen lines of consecration. And the music wailed and we went home through crowded and cheering streets.' [1]

'Abraham Lincoln is the idol of the American people at this moment,' Mr. French wrote in his diary on November 22d. 'Any one who saw and heard the hurricane of applause that met his every word at Gettysburg, would know that he lived in every heart. It was no cold shadow of kind reception — it was a tumultuous outpouring of exultation from true and loving hearts at the sight of a man whom every one knew to be honest and sincere in every act of his life and every pulsation of his heart. It was the spontaneous outburst of heartfelt confidence in *their own President.*'

At the conclusion of the President's remarks the Gettysburg choir sang a dirge, Dr. Bangher pronounced the benediction, and the marshals escorted the President back to his lodgings, arriving about three o'clock. After a hasty meal, Mr. Lincoln marched arm-in-arm with John Burns (the only citizen of Gettysburg who fought in all the three days' fight) to the Presbyterian Church to hear an address by Lieutenant-Governor-elect Anderson of Ohio, and impromptu speeches by other orators. Elsewhere Governor Seymour presented to the Fifth New York Artillery a stand of colors. At 6.30 the special train started for Washington, arriving at midnight.

Edward Everett was the first to recognize the significance of Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg. In a note to the President, written the day after the ceremonies, Mr. Everett thanks him for his 'great

[1] Helen Nicolay: *Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln*, page 373.

thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday, and much kindness to me and mine at Gettysburg.' Then he adds:

> Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you, with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness, at the consecration of the Cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes. My son, who parted from me at Baltimore, and my daughter, concur in this sentiment.

To this the President replied:

> EXECUTIVE MANSION,
> WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 20, 1863
>
> *Hon. Edward Everett*
>
> MY DEAR SIR:
>
> Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course, I knew Mr. Everett would not fail; and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectation. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency, whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel-ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.
>
> Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquired, we hope is past the worst.
>
> Your Obt Servt
>
> A. LINCOLN

Edward Everett was too fine a scholar, too great an orator and too devoted a patriot not to have been quick to apprehend that President Lincoln, from his heart, from the inmost depths of his being, out of the duties and responsibilities, the anxieties and burdens of his great office, out of his steadfast faith in an All-Wise Providence and the eternal justice of the cause of human freedom, spoke deathless words in the solemn presence of the dead who can never die.

In point of time the next note of appreciation was sounded by 'Harper's Weekly,' edited by George William Curtis. Sixteen days after the ceremonies, in the issue of December 5th, that journal said:

> The oration by Mr. Everett was smooth and cold. Delivered doubtless with his accustomed graces, it yet wanted one stirring thought, one vivid picture, one thrilling appeal.
>
> The few words of the President were from the heart to the heart. They cannot be read, even, without kindling emotion. 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.' It was as simple and felicitous and earnest a word as was ever spoken.

And again, in the issue of April 23d, 1864, the editor of 'Harper's Weekly' wrote:

> Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Bliss, of General Wallace's staff in Maryland, has prepared a unique and most valuable contribution to the Sanitary Fair, which is to open in Baltimore upon the 19th of April, a day of tragical interest in the history of the city. . . . The book will be called 'Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors,' and will have a neat introduction by John P. Kennedy, author of 'Horse-Shoe Robinson,' and one of the stanchest of Maryland patriots, of course in fac-simile autograph. The two opening autographs of the volume, after

the preface, are Key's 'Star-Spangled Banner' and President Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg, the most perfect piece of American eloquence, and as noble and pathetic and appropriate as the oration of Pericles over the Peloponnesian dead.

Steadily the Lincoln Address gained the momentum of appreciation. On November 23d, 1863, Mr. Wills had asked for the original manuscript, to be included 'among the correspondence and other papers connected with the project.' Thereupon Mr. Lincoln himself, says Mr. Nicolay, compared his original draft and the versions which had appeared in the newspapers, as compiled by his secretaries. On noting the discrepancies, and with his own fresh recollection of the form in which he delivered the Address, 'he made a new autograph copy — a careful and deliberate revision — which has become the standard and authentic text.' Probably no autograph copy was sent to Mr. Wills. At least he declared to Major Lambert that he never received one.[1]

Mr. Everett, with characteristic generosity, having promised the manuscript of his address to Mrs. Governor Fish of New York — the head of the Ladies' Committee of the Metropolitan Fair, held in New York City during April, 1864 — wrote to Mr. Lincoln on January 30th, 1864, that 'it would add very greatly to its value if I could bind up with it the manuscript of your dedicatory remarks, if you happen to have preserved it.' Mr. Everett also asked permission to include in the book President Lincoln's letter of November 20th, 1863, above quoted, as calculated to enhance still further the value

[1] Major William H. Lambert: *The Gettysburg Address*, page 17. Philadelphia, 1909.

of the volume. Mr. Lincoln, on February 4th, wrote to Mr. Everett: 'I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which with my note to you of November 20 you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.'

The volume containing Mr. Everett's oration, both in manuscript and in printed form, illustrated with maps of the battle-field and portraits of the Union generals in command, together with a manuscript copy of Mr. Lincoln's Address, was sold at the Fair, and has descended to the Honorable Henry W. Keyes, United States Senator from New Hampshire, whose uncle was the purchaser. Mr. Lincoln's note is not included in the volume.[1]

In February, 1864, George Bancroft, the historian, personally asked President Lincoln for an autograph copy of his Address, to be published in facsimile in a small quarto book, to be sold at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair, opening in Baltimore on the following April 18th. Many American authors were asked to make similar contributions of poems or prose, and the result was a volume of two hundred pages, entitled 'Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors,' and edited by John P. Kennedy and Colonel Alexander Bliss. Mr. Lincoln sent an autograph copy of his Address to Mr. Bancroft on February 29th, but having written on both sides of his paper, this copy was not suitable for the facsimile process then in use. On request, he sent a second copy on March 11th, 1864, permitting Mr. Bancroft to keep the first copy. The second copy, together with the contributions of other authors to the facsimile volume, was kept by Colonel Bliss, and descended to his son, William

[1] Senator Keyes permitted the Library of Congress to photostat the entire volume in 1926.

J. A. Bliss of Baltimore, who presented a photograph of it to the Library of Congress.

The copy of the Gettysburg Address given to George Bancroft passed to his son, the late John C. Bancroft, whose executors (Professor Wilder D. Bancroft of Cornell University and the late William Lowell Putnam of Boston) in 1924 permitted photographs of the Address and of Lincoln's letter of transmittal of February 29th, 1864, to be made for the Library of Congress. The originals were then in Boston. The photographs were made under the direction of Dr. Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society.

In so far as is known, Lincoln made only five autograph copies of his Gettysburg Address, all of which are reproduced herein. Also three stenographic versions are given. Each of the eight versions differs in some particulars from all the others. A comparison of the last three autographic versions will enable each reader to settle for himself as to which one he would call the standard version.

A third misconception is that certain phrases in the Gettysburg Address are indirect quotations. The phraseology of the Address, as well as the thoughts embodied, are Mr. Lincoln's own. Had Mr. Lincoln been in any sense a literary man, unconsciously the expression of his ideas might have taken color from his reading. As it was, his mind was formed by the action of reflection and emotion on experience. Slavery was the peril to the Union. His reason told him that slavery was unjust alike to master and to slave. His emotions gave initiative and direction to his thought. His paramount idea was to save the Union. He drew his ideas and his convictions directly

from the life he lived. Any book that came into the intensity of his life interested him only in so far as it coincided with his own experience. He saw humor in the incongruous happenings of the day; he suffered pain in the sufferings of others; he was raised to pinnacles of hope by successes or cast down into the depths by the too frequent tales of disaster. Such was the raw material from which he wove the fabric of his speeches.

George William Curtis was the first to compare the Gettysburg Address to the Funeral Oration of Pericles. The similarity lies in the occasion, the directness and simplicity of speech, and the outpouring of emotions pent up in the heart. One passage in the Oration of Pericles applies with peculiar force to all that is said of Abraham Lincoln:

> . . . It is hard for a speaker to observe due moderation in a case where his hearer can scarcely be made to cherish a proper conception of the truth. For the hearer who is acquainted with the facts and well disposed toward the dead, will possibly deem the setting forth of praise all too sparing in the light of his own desires and knowledge; while he who is without knowledge in the case will suspect exaggeration here and there, because he is jealous on hearing of aught that surpasses his own powers. Men tolerate the praises of other men only so far as they think themselves capable, every one, of performing the deeds recited to them; but when such deeds are beyond them, they are jealous at once and incredulous.[1]

[1] *The Funeral Oration of Pericles* (Thucydides, II, 35–46). Bernadotte Perrin's translation.

THE FIRST DRAFT
OF THE
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Reproduced from the original manuscript in the Library of Congress; the gift of the children of John Hay, in 1916.

Executive Mansion.

Washington, ... , 186

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal"

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow, this ground — The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, we here be ~~to stand here~~,

ted to the great task remaining before us—
that, from these honored dead we take in-
creased devotion to that cause for which
they here gave the last full measure of de-
votion— that we here highly resolve these
dead shall not have died in vain; that
the nation, shall have a new birth of free-
dom, and that government of the people, by
the people, for the people, shall not per-
ish from the earth.

THE SECOND DRAFT
OF THE
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Reproduced from the original manuscript in the Library of Congress; the gift of the children of John Hay, in 1916.
[Size of original, 8 by 13 inches]

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met here on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate— we can not consecrate— we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have, thus far, so nobly carried on. It is rather

for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THREE STENOGRAPHIC REPORTS
OF THE
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

From the Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette of November 20, 1863.

From the New York Tribune of November 21, 1863.

From the Report of the Massachusetts Commissioners to Governor John A. Andrew. Massachusetts Legislative Documents; Senate, 1864; No. 1.

The President then delivered the following dedicatory speech:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. (Applause.) Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war; we are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this, but in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground.

The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or to detract. (Applause.) The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. (Applause.) It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. (Applause.) It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. (Applause.) That the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. (Long applause.)

The dedicatory remarks were then delivered by the President, as follows:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. [Applause.] Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. [Apptause.] The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. [Applause.] It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. [Applause.] It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain [applause]; that the nation shall, unper God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. [Long-continued applause.]

The exercises were closed by a song from the choir present. The procession then returned to the town. Crowds, however, hung about the Diamond and aromnd

[C.]

DEDICATORY SPEECH BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated—can long endure.

We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our power to add or to detract.

The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, *to be dedicated*, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE THIRD AUTOGRAPH COPY
OF THE
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Reproduced from the original manuscript prepared at the request of Edward Everett, for inclusion with the manuscript of his own oration in a volume to be sold at the Sanitary Commission Fair, held in New York City during April, 1864.

The volume is now in the possession of the Hon. Henry W. Keyes, United States Senator from New Hampshire, a nephew of the purchaser.

The correspondence between EDWARD EVERETT *and* PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

[MR. EVERETT TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN]

Washington, November 20, 1863

MY DEAR SIR:

Not wishing to intrude upon your privacy, when you must be much engaged, I beg leave in this way to thank you very sincerely for your great thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday, and much kindness otherwise to me and mine at Gettysburg. Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you, with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness, at the consecration of the Cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes. My son, who parted from me at Baltimore, and my daughter, concur in this sentiment.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, Nov. 20, 1863

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT,

MY DEAR SIR:

Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course, I knew Mr. Everett would not fail; and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectation. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency, whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel-ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquired, we hope is past the worst.

Your Obt. Servt.
A. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, February 4, 1864

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT,

MY DEAR SIR:

Yours of January 30 was received four days ago, and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it.

I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate— we can not consecrate— we can not hallow— this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here, have thus far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before

us— that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they have given the last full measure of devotion— that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain— that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom— and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE FOURTH AUTOGRAPH COPY OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Reproduced from the original manuscript prepared at the request of George Bancroft for reproduction in the volume entitled 'Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors,' compiled by John P. Kennedy and Alexander Bliss. Being written on both sides of the sheet, the copy was not suited for reproduction. A second copy was furnished by President Lincoln and Mr. Bancroft was permitted to keep the first copy. The original of this fourth autograph copy is now in the possession of the Bancroft family.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, Feb. 29, 1864.

Hon. George Bancroft

My dear Sir:

Herewith is the copy of the manuscript which you did me the honor to request.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate— we can not consecrate— we can not hallow— this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining be-

fore us— that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion— that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain— that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom— and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE FIFTH AUTOGRAPH COPY
OF THE
GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Reproduced from the original manuscript used in the volume entitled 'Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors,' sold at the Baltimore Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair, April, 1864. The original is now in the possession of William J. A. Bliss of Baltimore.

Address delivered at the dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedi-

cate— we can not consecrate— we can not hallow— this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us— that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion— that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain— that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom— and that government of the people,

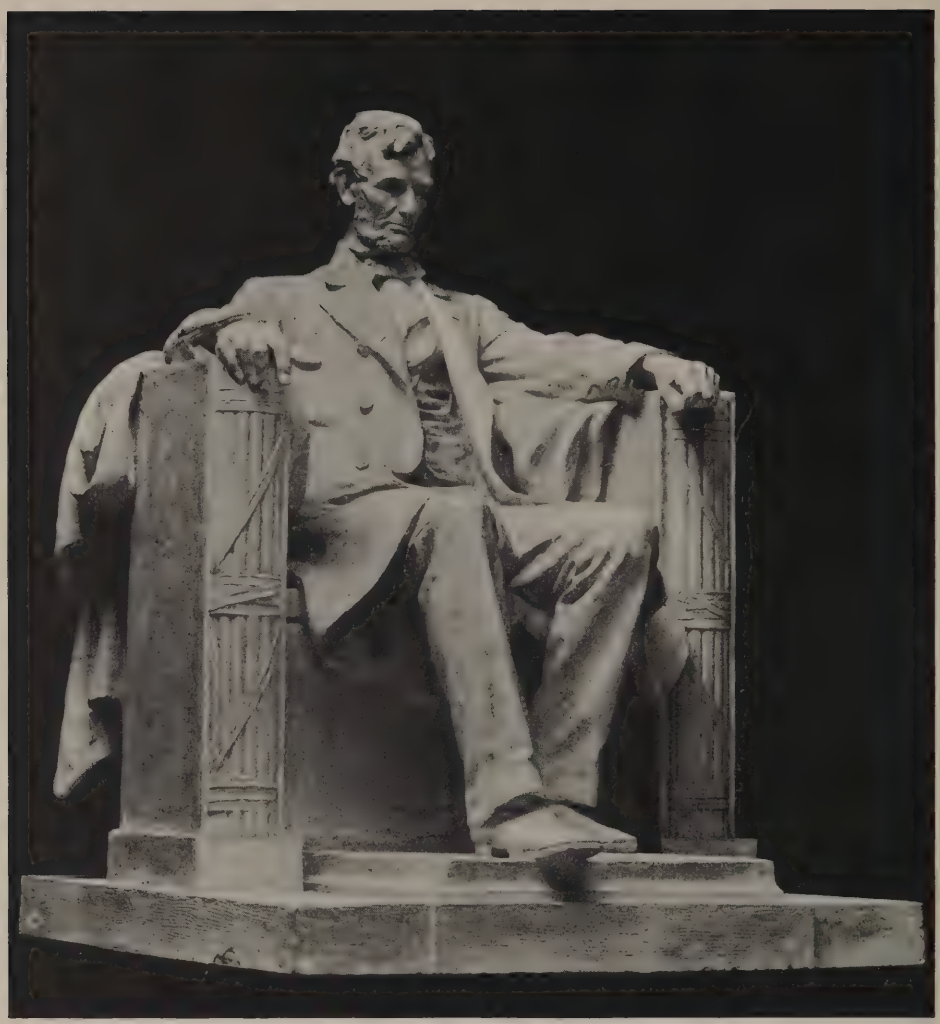
by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19, 1863.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL

March 4, 1865



LINCOLN
Taken from the working model for the statue in the Lincoln Memorial
Daniel Chester French, Sculptor

REUNION

Mural decoration in the Lincoln Memorial. Jules Guêrin, painter.

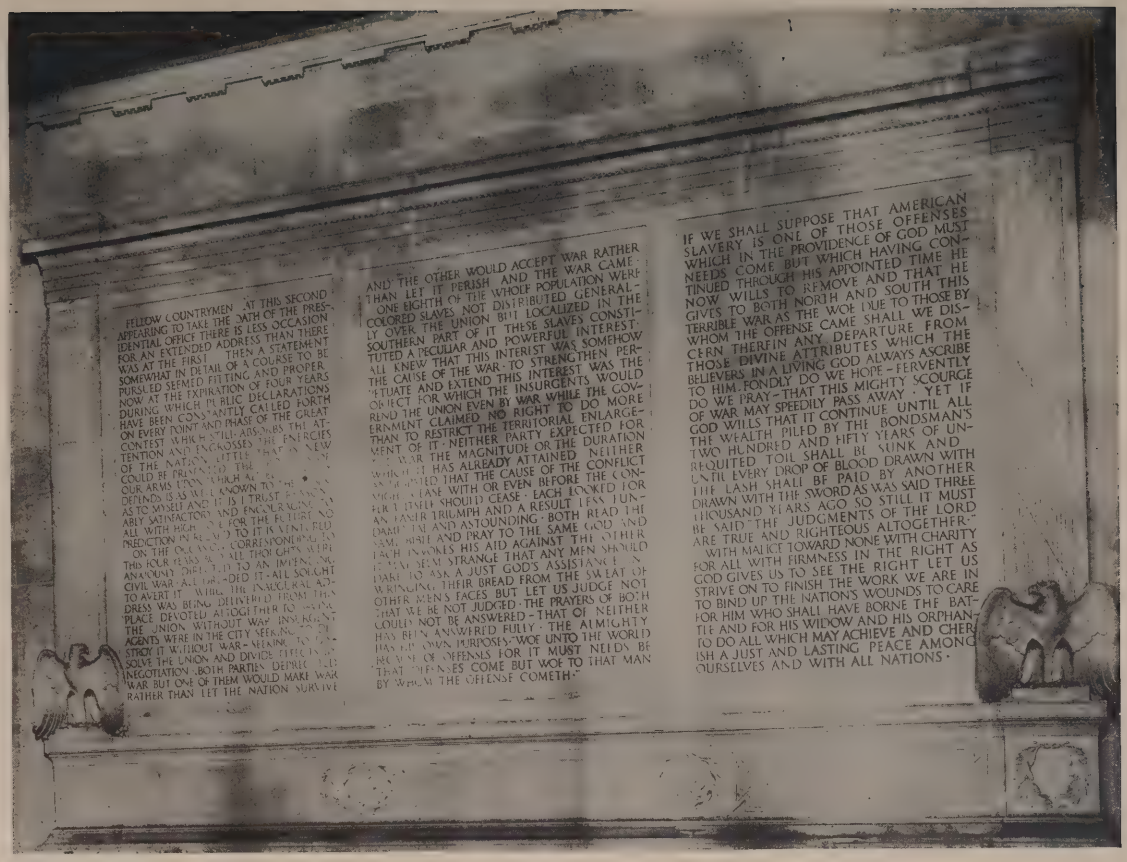
THE SECOND INAUGURAL

GETTYSBURG, hailed at the North and apprehended at the South as the presage of speedy Union success, was in point of chronology about the middle of the Civil War — a little more than halfway between the first battle of Manassas and the surrender at Appomattox. The fifteen months between the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural were made up of long-drawn-out days of uncertainty and trouble, that wore down the spirit of the President, a man of such intense feeling that melancholy and apprehension were a large part of his nature.

Two years of experience on numerous battle-fields had developed trained leaders on both sides. War had become a science. General Lee, entrenched behind the wilderness and the swamps about Richmond, awaited attack, hoping meanwhile that European help would be forthcoming, from Napoleon if not from England. General Grant, called from his triumphs in the West to the supreme command of the Armies of the United States, realized the serious nature of fighting in the enemy's country. He saw clearly the two objectives — to destroy Lee's army and capture Richmond; and to destroy Johnston's army and capture Atlanta. He entrusted the latter objective to General Sherman, and took upon himself the former.

At the South there was determination not to be conquered. At the North, now freed from the terror of invasion, two vociferous parties arose: one sought to end the effusion of blood and treasure by letting the South depart in peace; the other demanded a more aggressive attitude toward slavery on the part of the Administration and a more active prosecution of the war. President Lincoln was the target of both parties. Reviving commercial prosperity, due in part to the enormous expenditures for military purposes, drew into manufactures Northern men who during the first two years had enlisted to protect their homes and their country. Consequently, the draft had to be resorted to, in order to fill the ranks depleted not more by the persistent fighting than by the deadly diseases of the swamps.

On the already stooping shoulders of Lincoln these burdens fell. Often he seemed to stand absolutely alone in his single purpose to save the Union. Already among the politicians gathered at Gettysburg discussion was rife as to the probabilities of his renomination, and during the ensuing winter it seemed inevitable to the leaders of public opinion that, even if he were successful in the convention, he would be defeated at the polls. In his own Cabinet Secretary Chase was a receptive candidate, and his qualifications were set forth in a secret circular signed by a committee of which Senator Pomeroy of Kansas was the chairman. The manifesto charged President Lincoln with 'a tendency towards compromises and temporary expedients,' and proclaimed Chase as the one man able to rescue the country from ills and perils. In Congress Senator Wade of Ohio and Representative Winter Davis of Maryland were outspoken opponents, because they had no confidence in some of


FELLOW COUNTRYMEN · AT THIS SECOND
APPEARING TO TAKE THE OATH OF THE PRES-
IDENTIAL OFFICE THERE IS LESS OCCASION
FOR AN EXTENDED ADDRESS THAN THERE
WAS AT THE FIRST · THEN A STATEMENT
SOMEWHAT IN DETAIL OF A COURSE TO BE
PURSUED SEEMED FITTING AND PROPER ·
NOW AT THE EXPIRATION OF FOUR YEARS
DURING WHICH PUBLIC DECLARATIONS
HAVE BEEN CONSTANTLY CALLED FORTH
ON EVERY POINT AND PHASE OF THE GREAT
CONTEST WHICH STILL ABSORBS THE AT-
TENTION AND ENGROSSES THE ENERGIES
OF THE NATION · LITTLE THAT IS NEW
COULD BE PRESENTED · THE
OUR ARMS UPON WHICH
DEPENDS IS AS WELL KNOWN TO THE
AS TO MYSELF AND IT IS I TRUST REASON-
ABLY SATISFACTORY AND ENCOURAGING TO
ALL WITH HOPE · FOR THE FUTURE NO
PREDICTION IN REGARD TO IT IS ATTEMPTED ·
· ON THE OCCASION CORRESPONDING TO
THIS FOUR YEARS AGO · ALL THOUGHTS WERE
ANXIOUSLY DIRECTED TO AN IMPENDING
CIVIL WAR · ALL DREADED IT · ALL SOUGHT
TO AVERT IT · WHILE THE INAUGURAL AD-
DRESS WAS BEING DELIVERED FROM THIS
PLACE DEVOTED ALTOGETHER TO SAVING
THE UNION WITHOUT WAR · INSURGENT
AGENTS WERE IN THE CITY SEEKING TO DE-
STROY IT WITHOUT WAR · SEEKING TO DIS-
SOLVE THE UNION AND DIVIDE EFFECTS BY
NEGOTIATION · BOTH PARTIES DEPRECATED
WAR BUT ONE OF THEM WOULD MAKE WAR
RATHER THAN LET THE NATION SURVIVE
AND THE OTHER WOULD ACCEPT WAR RATHER
THAN LET IT PERISH · AND THE WAR CAME ·
ONE EIGHTH OF THE WHOLE POPULATION WERE
COLORED SLAVES NOT DISTRIBUTED GENERAL-
LY OVER THE UNION BUT LOCALIZED IN THE
SOUTHERN PART OF IT · THESE SLAVES CONSTI-
TUTED A PECULIAR AND POWERFUL INTEREST ·
ALL KNEW THAT THIS INTEREST WAS SOMEHOW
THE CAUSE OF THE WAR · TO STRENGTHEN PER-
PETUATE AND EXTEND THIS INTEREST WAS THE
OBJECT FOR WHICH THE INSURGENTS WOULD
REND THE UNION EVEN BY WAR WHILE THE GOV-
ERNMENT CLAIMED NO RIGHT TO DO MORE
THAN TO RESTRICT THE TERRITORIAL ENLARGE-
MENT OF IT · NEITHER PARTY EXPECTED FOR
THE MAGNITUDE OR THE DURATION
WAR · WAR HAS ALREADY ATTAINED NEITHER
WHICH IT HAS ALREADY ATTAINED · NEITHER
ANTICIPATED THAT THE CAUSE OF THE CONFLICT
MIGHT CEASE WITH OR EVEN BEFORE THE CON-
FLICT ITSELF SHOULD CEASE · EACH LOOKED FOR
AN EASIER TRIUMPH AND A RESULT LESS FUN-
DAMENTAL AND ASTOUNDING · BOTH READ THE
SAME BIBLE AND PRAY TO THE SAME GOD AND
EACH INVOKES HIS AID AGAINST THE OTHER
IT MAY SEEM STRANGE THAT ANY MEN SHOULD
DARE TO ASK A JUST GOD'S ASSISTANCE IN
WRINGING THEIR BREAD FROM THE SWEAT OF
OTHER MENS FACES BUT LET US JUDGE NOT
THAT WE BE NOT JUDGED · THE PRAYERS OF BOTH
COULD NOT BE ANSWERED · THAT OF NEITHER
HAS BEEN ANSWERED FULLY · THE ALMIGHTY
HAS HIS OWN PURPOSES · WOE UNTO THE WORLD
BECAUSE OF OFFENSES FOR IT MUST NEEDS BE
THAT OFFENSES COME BUT WOE TO THAT MAN
BY WHOM THE OFFENSE COMETH ·
IF WE SHALL SUPPOSE THAT AMERICAN
SLAVERY IS ONE OF THOSE OFFENSES
WHICH IN THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD MUST
NEEDS COME BUT WHICH HAVING CON-
TINUED THROUGH HIS APPOINTED TIME HE
NOW WILLS TO REMOVE AND THAT HE
GIVES TO BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH THIS
TERRIBLE WAR AS THE WOE DUE TO THOSE BY
WHOM THE OFFENSE CAME SHALL WE DIS-
CERN THEREIN ANY DEPARTURE FROM
THOSE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES WHICH THE
BELIEVERS IN A LIVING GOD ALWAYS ASCRIBE
TO HIM · FONDLY DO WE HOPE · FERVENTLY
DO WE PRAY · THAT THIS MIGHTY SCOURGE
OF WAR MAY SPEEDILY PASS AWAY · YET IF
GOD WILLS THAT IT CONTINUE UNTIL ALL
THE WEALTH PILED BY THE BONDSMAN'S
TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF UN-
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THE LASH SHALL BE PAID BY ANOTHER
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BE SAID · THE JUDGMENTS OF THE LORD
ARE TRUE AND RIGHTEOUS ALTOGETHER ·
· WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE WITH CHARITY
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TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHER-
ISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AMONG
OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS ·

THE SECOND INAUGURAL

Tablet in the Lincoln Memorial. Henry Bacon, Architect; Evelyn Beatrice Longman, Sculptor

Lincoln's advisers, notably in Postmaster-General Blair. The pronounced anti-slavery men like Wendell Phillips could not brook the deliberation with which the President proceeded in the work of freeing the slaves; and a convention held in Cleveland nominated General John C. Frémont for President.

When Lincoln was told that the attendance at the Cleveland convention did not exceed four hundred, he took up his well-thumbed Bible and read to those who were with him: 'And every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them, and there were with him about four hundred men.' [1]

Horace Greeley and his followers vainly sought to gain time for their opposition by having the nominating convention postponed. The convention assembled at Baltimore on June 7th, 1864, and renominated the President. For his running-mate the convention, without any interference on Lincoln's part, selected Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat, a former Senator, and at the time the Governor of Tennessee.

June passed and July. Grant's policy of attrition was wearing away Lee's army, but at heavy cost; and Sherman was steadily approaching Atlanta. But the unpopularity of the draft seemed completely to obscure the work of the armies. Mr. Greeley was so misguided as to undertake a mission to Canada in the expectation of finding there Confederate peace negotiators — a journey which the President permitted, well knowing what the result would be. Henry J. Raymond, chairman of the executive committee of the Republican

[1] Helen Nicolay: *Personal Traits of Lincoln*, page 296.

National Committee, urged the President to send a commission to Richmond to negotiate a peace; but when Mr. Raymond was asked to write the terms he would propose, he spared himself the journey. Yet so dark was the political horizon that even such resolute War Governors as Andrew of Massachusetts, Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Brough of Ohio were convinced that were the election to be held then (in August) Mr. Lincoln could not carry their States.

The President himself felt the strain; he grew haggard and careworn. Then he took himself in hand and looked the future squarely in the face. Anticipating that the Democrats would nominate General McClellan, the President wrote this memorandum:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *August* 23, 1864

> This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reëlected. Then it will be my duty to so coöperate with the President elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterwards.
>
> A. LINCOLN

This paper he took to the Cabinet meeting that day. Without showing what he had written, he asked the members present to write their names on the back of the paper, which he had folded and sealed; and this they did: William H. Seward, W. P. Fessenden, Edwin M. Stanton, Gideon Welles, Edwd. Bates, M. Blair, J. P. Usher. Underneath the names Mr. Lincoln wrote the date, 'August 23, 1864.' [1]

[1] The original manuscript was given to the Library of Congress by Miss Helen Nicolay, on the same day that the children of John Hay (Clarence L. Hay, Helen Hay Whitney, and Alice Hay Wadsworth) gave the first two drafts of the Gettysburg Address.

The turn of the political tide came in September. Senator Zachariah Chandler (who divided all the North into two parts, patriots and traitors) negotiated the withdrawal of General Frémont at the price of Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair's resignation, reluctantly paid by the President. Admiral Farragut's victory at Mobile Bay blocked the last opening to the South from the sea. Sherman's capture of distant Atlanta was reinforced by Sheridan's sweeping victories in the Shenandoah Valley, almost within sight of the dome of the Capitol. Grant's steady pressure on Lee's army prevented detaching forces to aid Johnston in the West or Early in the Valley. The early elections in Vermont and Maine were but the foretaste of the November avalanche which left only New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky to give adherence to the inference drawn from the Democratic platform that 'the war was a failure.' Moreover, in Congress there was now the necessary two-thirds majority to enact the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.[1]

The last effort to bring about peace by negotiation was the outcome of a visit which President Lincoln permitted Francis P. Blair, Sr., to make to Jefferson Davis in Richmond in the January of 1865. Mr. Davis, in a letter handed to Blair, expressed his willingness 'to appoint a commissioner, minister or other agent to renew the effort to enter into conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries.' President Lincoln told Mr. Blair that he might say to Mr. Davis that any agent whom the latter, 'or any other influential person now resisting the National authority, might send informally'

[1] *Zachariah Chandler;* an outline sketch of his life and public services, Detroit, 1880, p. 273 *et seq.*
James Ford Rhodes: *History of the United States,* vol. IV, p. 538.

would be received 'with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.'

Here in polite terms were expressed the utterly divergent views of the South and the North. Nevertheless, at the solicitation of General Grant, President Lincoln himself, accompanied by Secretary Seward, received three Confederate commissioners on board the steamer River Queen at Hampton Roads, on February 3d, 1865.[1]

In order that the discussions might begin on a friendly footing, Mr. Seward had furnished the Southern commissioners three bottles of such liquor as they had not tasted for years.[2] After an exchange of reminiscences, Mr. Stephens asked: 'Mr. President, is there no way of putting an end to the present trouble?' Mr. Lincoln replied that the one and only way he knew was 'for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease that resistance.' Mr. Stephens suggested an armistice 'until the passions of both sides should cool.' Mr. Lincoln replied, 'The restoration of the Union is a *sine qua non* with me.' To Judge Campbell's question as to how such a restoration was to take place, Mr. Lincoln replied, 'By disbanding their armies and permitting the National authorities to resume their functions.' The President said that he never would change or modify the terms of the Emancipation Proclamation in the slightest particular. Mr. Seward added the information that Congress had just passed the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. Mr. Stephens asked if,

[1] Rhodes: *History of the United States*, vol. v, p. 58 *et seq.* The commissioners were Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States; Judge John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War; and R. M. T. Hunter, a former United States Senator from Virginia and then a member of the Confederate Senate.

[2] Edward L. Pierce: *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, vol. iv, p. 205; letter of Sumner to John Bright.

on abandoning war, the Confederate States would be admitted to representation in Congress. Mr. Lincoln replied that personally he thought they ought to be, but he could enter into no stipulation upon the subject — he could not treat with parties in arms against the Government. Hunter said that it had often been done, especially by Charles I when at civil war with Parliament. 'I do not profess to be posted on matters of history,' replied Mr. Lincoln, with a flash of his old humor. 'On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles I is that he lost his head in the end.' Senator Hunter, with some bitterness, said that nothing had been offered but unconditional submission to the mercy of the conquerors.

President Lincoln's report to the House of Representatives was that the conference ended without result. In a technical sense this was true; but in a wider sense the conference brought out clearly to the people both South and North that there was one way and one only to end war and insure peace — for the South to stop fighting and to rely on the feelings of brotherhood that prevailed throughout the North, reënforced by the sense of fair dealing, the absence of vindicativeness, and the desire for a restoration of civil rights incarnate in the President of the United States.

After the conference ended, the five men lingered to chat. 'Governor,' said Senator Hunter to Mr. Seward, 'how is the Capitol? Is it finished?' Mr. Seward knew well that President Lincoln had insisted on the uninterrupted progress of that work, as typifying the continuance of the Union. In vivid words he told the former Virginia Senator how the statue of Freedom had been placed on the

dome more than a year before, and that now the Congress of the United States assembled in one of the most magnificent edifices in the world.[1] The Confederate commissioners carried away two bottles of champagne to assuage whatever asperity remained.

Congress was in session during the night of March 3d, 1865. During the evening a torrential rainstorm descended upon the Capitol, accompanied by such rattling of glass and whistling of wind as to send members of the House scurrying from the Chamber. Speaker Colfax's calm announcement that the commotion was 'only a storm' brought a return to the monotony of a night session. By morning the storm seemed to have been merely a preparation for the brilliant day. As the hour of noon approached, the Senate galleries were crowded with ladies. Vice-President Hamlin escorted his successor to a seat at his right. On the floor a vacant chair at the left of the Desk awaited President Lincoln, who lingered in the President's Room adjoining the Chamber, signing the last acts of the dying Congress. Secretaries Seward, Stanton, and Speed were in their places. The black-robed Justices of the Supreme Court, seated on the right, formed a background for the golden segment of diplomats in all the glory of court dress, the embroidered gowns of the Orientals giving color to the brilliant scene. Senators drew their chairs together to make room for the Members of the House who filled the interstices, after the immemorial fashion of the English Parliament on occasions of highest ceremony.

[1] Pierce's *Sumner*, vol. IV, p. 205. Introduction to Glenn Brown's *History of the United States Capitol*. *B. B. French's Diary*.

Vice-President Hamlin, after a few words of farewell which were drowned by the conversation in the galleries, gave way to the Vice-President-elect, whose opening sentences likewise were overwhelmed by the noises in the Chamber. President Lincoln came in quietly and took his seat while Mr. Johnson was speaking. What he heard of that remarkable address must have raised in him strange forebodings. He himself, said Mr. Johnson, was a proud illustration of the fact that

> under the Constitution a man could rise from the ranks to occupy the second place in the gift of the American people and of the American Government. Those of us who have labored our whole lives for the establishment of a free Government know how to cherish its great blessings. He would say to Senators and others before him — to the Supreme Court which sat before him — that they all got their power from the people of this country. Turning toward Mr. Chase,[1] Mr. Johnson said: 'And your exaltation and position depend upon the people.' Then, turning toward the Cabinet, he said: 'And I will say to you, Mr. Secretary Seward, and to you, Mr. Secretary Stanton, and to you, Mr. Secretary' — to a gentleman near by, *sotto voce*, 'Who is Secretary of the Navy?' The person addressed replied in a whisper, 'Mr. Welles' — 'and to you, Mr. Secretary Welles, I would say, you all derive your power from the people.' Mr. Johnson then remarked that the great element of vitality in this Government was its nearness and proximity to the people. He wanted to say to all who heard him, in the face of the American people, that all power was derived from the people. He would say, in the hearing of the Foreign Ministers, for he was going to tell the truth here to-day, that he was a plebeian — he thanked God for it. It was the popular heart of this nation that was beating to sustain Cabinet officials and the President of the United States. It was a strange occasion that called forth a

[1] Mr. Chase became Chief Justice of the United States December 6th, 1864.

plebeian like him to tell such things as these. Mr. Johnson next adverted to affairs in Tennessee, and the abolition of slavery there. He thanked God Tennessee was a State in the Union, and had never been out. The State Government had been discontinued for a time — there had been an interregnum, a hiatus — but she had never been out of the Union. He stood here to-day as her representative. On this day she would elect a Governor and a Legislature, and she would very soon send Senators and members to Congress.

Mr. Johnson then took the oath of office, and Mr. Hamlin declared the Senate adjourned *sine die*.[1]

The oath of office having been administered to the new Vice-President, the Senate passed into special session, and the newly elected Senators were sworn in. The procession then formed and made its way to the east front of the Capitol, where, in the presence of a vast multitude, Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office to President Lincoln, who delivered his second inaugural address. In brevity it was exceeded only by the words spoken at Gettysburg. In moral earnestness and charity it is unsurpassed. In inspired words Lincoln placed on slavery the eternal brand; and then, from the fullness of his heart, he uttered those words of righteous forgiveness that must live so long as human society exists.

The amazed auditors, whom he had lifted to a higher plane, were ill content with so brief a reward for their struggles to obtain place. They called for the Vice-President, but he had been escorted back to the Senate Chamber. Mr. Lincoln's only comment was: 'It has been a severe lesson for Andy, but I do not think he will do it again.' [2]

Magnanimous even in thought, President Lincoln invited Senator

[1] *New York Tribune*, March 6th, 1865.
[2] John W. Forney's *Anecdotes of Public Men*, vol. I, p. 177.

Sumner to accompany him and Mrs. Lincoln to the inaugural ball, in spite of the open opposition of Sumner to the President's announced policy of restricting suffrage in reconstructed States to the 'very intelligent' and those 'who had fought gallantly in our ranks.' Sumner in the Senate insisted on unrestricted suffrage.

After the second inauguration events followed one another in rapid succession. With the approval of General Grant and the consent of President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, Sherman had begun his March to the Sea, which was to be either a new departure in strategy or, as he wrote to Thomas, 'the wild adventure of a crazy fool.' In his annual message to Congress, the President had pointed to State Governments reëstablished in Arkansas and Louisiana, and movements to the same end in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. 'Maryland,' he wrote exultingly, 'is secure to liberty and Union for all the future.' Reconstruction had begun. General Grant, who had been fighting General Lee steadily since the summer of 1864, and at the same time directing the movements of Sherman and Sheridan, felt that the time had come 'to end the matter.' He began his movement on March 29th, with Sheridan and his cavalry in full fighting trim, and with Meade, Humphreys, Ord, Wright, Warren, and Parke as commanders on whom he could rely. A succession of battles ensued. On April 2d, General Lee reported to Richmond that the Union forces had broken through his lines, cut his army asunder, and interposed between the two parts. That night Richmond and Petersburg were evacuated.

On April 3d, President Lincoln, who was at Grant's headquarters

at City Point, stirred Stanton with the news that he was going to the front to see General Grant. The perturbed Secretary, doubtless having in mind the President's reckless exposure of himself to the enemy's fire at Fort Stevens, near Washington, telegraphed a vigorous remonstrance. With the glee of an escaped schoolboy Mr. Lincoln replied: 'Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg. Stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands. I will take care of myself.'

On April 4th and 5th President Lincoln was in Richmond, where his magnanimity toward the people of Virginia, as expressed to Judge Campbell, brought him once more into a clash with Secretary Stanton, Senator Wade, and the radicals of his own party.

On Sunday, April 9th, General Lee received word from General Gordon that he had 'fought his corps to a frazzle.' Longstreet was vainly endeavoring to withstand Meade. The commander of the Army of Northern Virginia had come to the end. 'There is nothing left for me but to go to see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths.' Go he did. At the McLean house, in the little village of Appomattox Court House, General Lee, attired in a new full-dress uniform of Confederate gray, brought to the surrender a sword with hilt studded with jewels. It was the tribute this great officer and great gentleman paid to his conqueror; and General Grant, with like chivalry and perfect magnanimity, wore his work-a-day clothes — the uniform of a private with the straps of a major-general. Of the two men Grant was the more depressed.

While Grant and Lee were arranging the magnanimous terms of

surrender at Appomattox, President Lincoln and 'a small family party' were on their way up the Potomac on their return to Washington. All were rejoicing over the prospect of a speedy peace. Mr. Lincoln read and re-read to them from 'Macbeth':

> Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch him further.

Then he repeated from memory lines from Longfellow's 'Resignation.' [1]

When enthusiastic citizens came to the White House to serenade the President, he asked the band to play 'Dixie,' one of the few tunes he knew and liked; and so 'Dixie' resumed its former place as the civic song of Washington, and as such it continues.

On April 14th, Friday, at President Lincoln's last Cabinet meeting, General Grant, a guest, expressed anxiety to hear from Sherman. To him the President replied: 'I do not doubt that favorable news will come soon. Last night I had the dream that has preceded nearly every important event of the war. I was in an indescribable vessel moving swiftly to a dark and indefinite shore.'

That same night, between ten and half-past ten o'clock,[2] Lincoln embarked on that 'indescribable vessel.' The aftermath of war, then as now more devastating than war itself,was gathered by men not only less capable, but also with little or none of that greatness of heart that beat 'with malice toward none, with charity for all.'

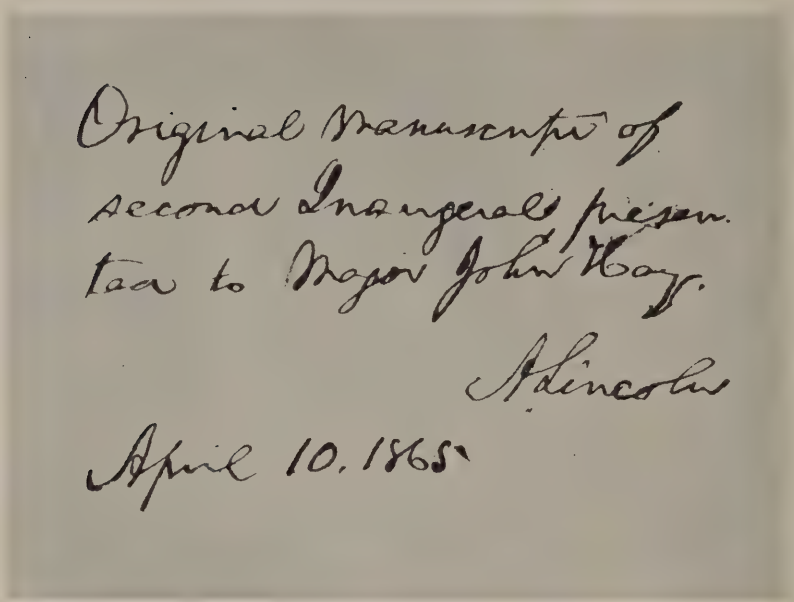
[1] Pierce's *Sumner*, vol. IV, p. 235.

[2] The President was shot in Ford's Theater a few moments after ten o'clock on the evening of April 14; he died at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock the next morning.

THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL

View at the time of President Lincoln's Inauguration in 1861. The dome was completed with the placing of the statue of 'Freedom,' December 2, 1863

THE SECOND INAUGURAL



Reproduced from the originals in the Library of Congress; the gift of the children of John Hay, 1916. Four pages of manuscript and one page of printers' proof corrected
[Size of original, 8 by 13 inches]

Fellow Citizens: 1

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in

the city seeking to destroy it without war seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that

the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those

by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first.

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